THE

PROBABILITY, CAUSES, and CONSEQUENCES

OF AN

UNION

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

Diſcuſſed:

WITH STRICTURES ON AN

ANONYMOUS PAMPHLET,

In Favour of the Meaſure,

SUPPOSED TO BE WRITTEN BY A GENTLEMAN HIGH IN OFFICE.

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THE

PROBABILITY, CAUSES, and CONSEQUENCES

OF AN

UNION, &c.

AMIDST the diſgrace and ruin brought upon us by the late unfortunate events; by the intolerant pride and avarice of ſhort-ſighted monopoly on one hand, holding in its greedy graſp the excluſive management of a mutilated conſtitution, as an engine of excluſive dominion and ſpoil; and the intemperate zeal and ambition of thoſe who ſought reform, and through reform looked for equal freedom, union, national government, and the general proſperity of all, without diſtinction of ſect; attainable, as they ſuppoſed, through the medium of a virtuous independent legiſlature, repreſenting the entire nation: amidſt the general mourning and deſolation that ſadden our plains, the cries of deſtitute widows and orphans, the bleeding recollection of the moſt horrible cruelties and atrocious crimes, plunder, maſſacre, torture, fanaticiſm, and all the furies recorded in fable or hiſtory; amid the grief, terror, and anxiety that benumb the heart, and palſy the intellectual powers; the deſpondency of the good, the dreadful licence of the wicked; the heart-burnings and deadly animoſity that rankle in the breaſts of men ſmarting from recent injuries, and breathing nothing but revenge, even to extermination; while all freedom of inquiry, whether by ſpeech or writing, is treated as treaſon, and ſtruck dumb by the terrors of martial law and military execution; it may be deemed raſh to come forward with any political opinion, at a period ſo inauſpicious to truth and juſtice. It may be deemed an hopeleſs taſk to awaken the public mind to national concerns.

Amid the general diſmay that aſſumes the appearance of apathy, I for one am ready to acknowledge, that I do not deſpiſe exiſtence, deſtitute as it is of moſt of thoſe circumſtances that render it deſirable, and beguile the burden of life. The alluring proſpects that faſcinate youthful ambition, the gay, the charming deluſions that give an intereſt to the moſt trivial objects of deſire, that enliven the ſpirits, and fire the fancy, on our en-

trance in the career of human affairs, are fled indeed. I can no longer cheriſh life for the ſake of any ſelfiſh plan of individual happineſs; one ſtrong motive ſurvives, the deſire of promoting the happineſs of my kind, and of doing ſomething uſeful in my day. Have I performed my taſk? or is my death likely to prove more beneficial to mankind, than my farther continuance in exiſtence? I truſt, in that caſe, the trying hour ſhall find me cheerfully reſigned to the ſtroke. I was not made to cringe and fawn to ruffian power, for the wretched purpoſe of obtaining a permit to live at the expenſe of truth, and the duty I owe my country and mankind; and moſt of all, to tyrants and their accomplices: for ſurely none ſtand ſo much in need of the wholeſome admonitions of Truth, as the deluded victims of paſſion and injuſtice, who hate her moſt.

It is a duty incumbent on us to miniſter to the wants of our fellow-creatures, moſt eſpecially their moral wants. When the word tyrant is mentioned, ſome perſons are apt to confine its meaning excluſively to the abuſe of eſtabliſhed authority. That however is a groſs miſtake. Coercion exerciſed on others by any force, in the place of argument or perſuaſion, comes properly under that denomination. The pike of the inſurgent may be as much in the ſervice of tyranny, as the bayonet of the mercenary. Force in any ſhape is a very improper inſtrument of conviction; it may put a temporary reſtraint on the external man, but the hoſtile mind ſtill remains. Every purpoſe that is honeſt will be beſt promoted by amicable diſcuſſion, from whoſe mild beams no men or meaſures can ſhrink, without pleading guilty by the very fact.

Away with the rage and folly of faction, its criminal exceſſes, its brutal, unmanly triumphs in the diſgrace and ruin of our country. Had the men of blood a particle of intellect; did any thing humane, or civilized, or patriotic, enter into their compoſition, they would bewail, with tears of blood, the calamities they have inflicted on themſelves, as well as on their ſuppoſed enemies, and the undefinable evils they have prepared for our common poſterity. They have acted in the very manner their worſt enemies could wiſh. What ſpectacle would the enemy of Ireland wiſh to behold that he has not ſeen? Iriſhmen divided into hoſtile factions, tearing the bowels of their country, cutting each other's throats, and firing each other's habitations! Whoever ſtimulates them to mutual ſtrife and ruin, muſt expect to make them both a prey; their diviſions will facilitate ſuch an enterpriſe, and they will ſpeedily reap the fruits of their wickedneſs and folly, in the loſs of that conſtitution which they preconveyed and abuſed; and in the irrevocable doom of provincial ſervitude, one party invite a French invaſion, the other invite a Britiſh invaſion. The latter have ſucceeded, and will no doubt keep what they have conquered.

quered. It were a ſilly dream to imagine that Britiſh arms effected the conqueſt of Ireland for the benefit of Orange-men; that blood was ſhed, and Engliſh treaſure waſted, out of pure good-will for Iriſh proteſtants.

The Britiſh cabinet laughs at our party diſtinctions; while it openly profeſſes to cheriſh that party which promotes its views, it can ſee no other merit in it than its ſubſerviency. 'Tis not as Iriſhmen, ſurely, that they can flatter themſelves to poſſeſs the partial favour of Engliſhmen. On what occaſion then? As proteſtants. Oh, ſilly bigots! how little do you comprehend the expanded views of the illuminated Miniſter! He can league himſelf juſt as cordially with emigrant papiſt prieſts, with popiſh Auſtria, and inquiſitorial bigot Spain, to advance his own ſchemes; he would league himſelf with the Turk, Jew, Pagan, or even the devil himſelf, for the ſame end.

When all Ireland was catholic, expedients were found to create and keep alive a Britiſh faction. If it was all proteſtant now, ſome new contrivance would not be wanting, ſome paltry, ridiculous diſtinction, to anſwer the purpoſe of dividing the people, and forming a faction ſold to foreign intereſt, and hoſtile to the ſoil. Or ſuppoſe the proteſtants formed the great majority of Iriſhmen, and felt it their greateſt intereſt to ſupport the independence and proſperity of the country; and that the catholic minority were as eager to become the tools of Britiſh ſupremacy as the proteſtant now is, they would meet with the ſame kind of favour, encouragement, and reward, as the miſnamed aſcendancy now receives; they would, like the preſent pot-wallopping dogs, be permitted to lick the crumbs that fell from the table of Britiſh ſupremacy.

Iriſhmen, you have ſealed your own doom. The moment you appealed to foreign powers, and invoked the interpoſition of foreign force in your domeſtic diſputes, you have proclaimed your inability to govern yourſelves; you have renounced your independence, your autonomia or ſelf-legiſlation, ſo dearly purchaſed. You became the vaſſal of that power which has *protected* you againſt each other; and thus you verify the old proverb, "A houſe divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand." Numberleſs are the inſtances on record of this truth; Poland and Ireland ſtand laſt on the liſt. Aſcendancy or Orange, whichſoever name you like beſt, your unwearied efforts ſhall be crowned with their merited reward. The bleſſings you refuſed to ſhare, and which by ſharing you would increaſe an hundred fold, are about to elude your ſelfiſh gripe. Your little pride, with your little delegated tyranny, and diviſion of ſpoil, are at the laſt gaſp; for an UNION with Britain now occupies the attention of the Britiſh cabinet!

This meaſure has long been in contemplation. Now that we are on the eve of ſeeing it realized, we ſtand amazed! affect to look

look on the report as unworthy of belief, and ſcarcely allow ourſelves to diſcuſs the probability or conſequences of ſuch an event. This conduct is ſtupid. We ſhould prepare ourſelves for the approaching criſis, and make up our minds as to the conduct we ſhould hold; whether to approve or condemn, to ſupport or oppoſe the meaſure.

To that end I beg leave to offer what has occurred to me on the ſubject, ſtating the arguments on each ſide of the queſtion with as much impartiality as I am capable of. For the ſake of perſpicuity, I ſhall divide the ſubject under the following heads:

1ſt. Is the union of legiſlatures practicable or probable at this day?

2d. Is it likely to prove beneficial to this country, or otherwiſe?

The firſt propoſition naturally reſolves itſelf into the two following:

1ſt. Has the Britiſh Miniſter the means of accompliſhing it?

2d. Does it appear deſirable in his eyes?

As to the firſt queſtion of the ſecond diviſion, it is eaſily ſolved. His ability to accompliſh it is indiſputable. With large Engliſh armies in the heart of our country, and more ready to follow in caſe of need, yet he finds his ſureſt reſource in our own diviſions! Such is the miſerable ſtate to which theſe fatal feuds have reduced us, that we can oppoſe no effectual reſiſtance to any meaſure, however inimical to our proſperity. It remains then to examine, whether the meaſure in queſtion ſhall appear a good one. Mr. Pitt would not heſitate to anſwer in the affirmative. Let us ſketch the reaſons he would probably urge in defence of it.

" In her preſent ſituation Ireland cannot be ſuffered to remain. What is ſhe at the preſent hour? A mere burden on us. Inſtead of contributing her contingent towards this moſt expenſive and juſt war in ſupport of eſtabliſhed governments, ſhe drains us of men and money: her diſtractions alarm and agitate us; they depreſs our funds, and encourage the hopes of our vigilant enemy, by preſenting him with a vulnerable part, in which the empire may be aſſailed with ſucceſs. The reputation of our government has ſuffered in the eyes of Europe, by reaſon of the atrocities perpetrated there in its name. My conſcience acquits me of any participation in the foul deeds. If I call on our party there for ſupport, I do not invite them to be brutal. I commanded no rapes, or robberies, or tortures, nor burning of houſes, nor maſſacres of unconvicted felons. If I ordered them to ſubdue and ſuppreſs, I did not require of them to exterminate, and that with the moſt horrible circumſtances of diabolical cruelty and baſe-hearted villany. I iſſued no orders to aſſaſſinate every one they met, whether innocent or guilty, if not poſſeſſed of the private ſignals of Orangiſm.

" This maſs of evil, phyſical and moral, that affects ſo eſſentially

tially the honour and proſperity of the empire, might, for the preſent, be conſigned to oblivion, and your preſent ſyſtem of Iriſh government be endured, did not the well-founded apprehenſion of the future recurrence of ſimilar diſorders forbid it. [He is ſuppoſed here diſcuſſing the queſtion with the ſelf-appointed Iriſh agents.] If the paſt furniſh any criterion to judge of the future, we have no great proſpect of deriving benefit from the preſent terms of our connexion. What is your hiſtory ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of it, but a gazette of the wars, maſſacres, and devaſtations occaſioned by encroachment on the one hand, and reſiſtance on the other? Whatever be the cauſes of this misfortune, they have operated hitherto unceaſingly. The cauſes muſt be ſought for either in the natural and incurable depravity of the Iriſh, or in the unfavourable circumſtances in which they were placed. Incredible as it muſt ſeem to a reflecting and diſpaſſionate judge, many have been the utterers of the former alternative:—abſurd, almoſt blaſphemous calumny, equally diſgraceful to the heart that would conceive, and the head that could give utterance. Were that the caſe, they muſt be left to themſelves, or exterminated!

"But no. Human nature is every where much alike; ſuſceptible of every impreſſion, good or ill; of almoſt any degree of refinement or barbarity, virtue or vice. Civilization has made the tour of the world, and nations have had their viciſſitudes of civilization and ſcience, of ignorance and barbarity. Our anceſtors, the painted Britons, were on a level with the pagans of the preſent day; while Egypt, Chaldea, Greece, &c. poſſeſſed arts and ſciences. Now that Britain excels in all theſe accompliſhments, what are the deſcendants of the above-mentioned renowned nations? Even Ireland has had her period of learning and civilization! In a word, mankind are what the civil and religious inſtitutions of the world have made them; together with influence of ſoil, climate, and geographical poſition.

"Having thus, as I think, cleared the Iriſh character from the malevolent aſperſions even of many Iriſh writers, over-zealous to defend ruling meaſures at the expenſe of national character, I am free to fix the entire blame of thoſe calamities that conſume you and injure us, on the defects in your political ſyſtem. You muſt have an aſcendancy, as the price of ſupporting our ſupremacy. And what is that aſcendancy? A monopoly of all power, honour, public offices, and the emoluments flowing from thence; the power of ruling and taxing the nation at pleaſure; and the produce of the whole public revenue, levied upon the people at large, diſtributed in the ſhape of ſalaries and penſions among yourſelves and partiſans.

"Really your vaunted loyalty to the connexion is purchaſed at an enormous price; it is a mercenary and miſerable thing. It is time

time to conſider, whether the ſervices you have performed deſerve to be requited in this prodigal manner. You may boaſt, indeed, of being the moſt able architects of diſcontent and confuſion in the King's dominions. The tyrannical and inſulting manner in which you treated the juſt claims of the Iriſh, after their expectations were raiſed on the ſeemingly ſtrong ground of royal bounty, and their evident expediency and juſtice, ſpread general diſcontent: the violent meaſures of coercion and oppreſſion to which you reſorted, contrary to all law and right, in order to ſmother complaint, and ſtifle the communication of opinion, increaſed the ferment. A banditti of exterminators long paraded through the North in the moſt public manner, to the terror and diſmay of his Majeſty's peaceable ſubjects, exerciſing with entire impunity every ſpecies of cruelty and rapine on the defenceleſs catholics of Ulſter; all applications to the Caſtle for redreſs or protection were fruitleſs; and this miſchief was tolerated for years, to the utter ruin of thouſands, and therefore not abſurdly ſuppoſed to have the ſecret ſupport and countenance of G———.

" The catholic peaſantry of Ireland, finding no protection in the laws of the land, combined in their own defence, and thus two hoſtile aſſociations overſpread the kingdom: hence the facility with which republican principles have been propagated. Long might united Iriſhmen preach republicaniſm in vain to a nation deeply prepoſſeſſed with prejudices of the moſt inveterate kind, in favour of monarchy and hierarchy in their moſt deſpotic ſhape, if inſult and perſecution had not prepared their minds for innovation; if Jacobins harangued and wrote, it was G—— procured for them a partial and favourable audience. Thus republicaniſm, from being confined to a few ſpeculative men, through the crimes of a ——, became the political creed of the nation.

" The ſecret committee pretends to have done wonders, by relating the technical forms of the organization, and a ſketch of the proceedings, with ſongs and ſymbols, &c. All this was matter of courſe, expected by thoſe who laid the foundation thereof. They modeſtly forgot how much the Union was indebted to their own labours for its formation and extenſion. A diſcerning public will not ſuffer their modeſty to detract from their juſt praiſe; it ſees with regret, that the compilation is incomplete, until the hiſtory of two or three preceding ſeſſions of parliament, the exploits of Orange, and other military and civil agents, are added by way of preface.

" Aſcendancy prepared diſaſters for Ireland, and brought the empire into a ſituation full of danger and difficulty; and this return they make for the liberal conceſſions of England, which made their parliament nominally independent, but in reality only increaſed the wages of the party, by bringing home, as they term it, all the great offices of ſtate, and creating a vaſt and novel patron-

age. Your pretenſions to retain this ſyſtem, at a time its incompetency has been proved to the world, are no leſs abſurd than unjuſt; it is abſurd to pretend to legiſlative independence, while you depend on our treaſure and armies for your very exiſtence. It is unjuſt you ſhould enjoy the increaſed emoluments and honours flowing from that independence, which you do not deſerve, becauſe you cannot maintain them.

"True, you have not been as yet overthrown; but how would ye have fared if left to yourſelves? It would be better policy not to have provoked the conflict. What language do you hold at preſent? You tell the Commons of Great Britain, You muſt ſupport us with your money and men, and yet you muſt not pretend to direct our counſels. We muſt enjoy legiſlative independence.—What kind of an Iriſh bull! Independent dependence! As well might the ſenator pretend to independence, who lives by the price of his votes. When the claim of independence was firſt urged, we underſtood its merits; it was backed by a PATRIOT army of unbought and free citizens, who ſecured internal tranquillity more by the reſpect and gratitude their patriotiſm inſpired, than by the application of the bayonet. Your country was then ſtrong in the union of its inhabitants, happy at home, and reſpected abroad—ſecure againſt invaſion. Your government, while purſuing the career of patriotiſm, appeared every way equal to its functions; it did not come whining to us for ſupport, and complaining of the ſedition and treaſon of the people. With reverſed fortune, it becomes you to alter your language, and lower your pretenſions. You tell the people of Ireland to ſupport a conſtitution, from a participation of whoſe rights and benefits you are excluded; ſupport the monopoly which cruſhes, degrades you, and makes you aliens on your native ſoil; ſupport that which makes contempt, ſlavery, and beggary, your inheritance; ſupport that which brands you as unworthy to ſhare the benefits of civilized ſociety, and which, by ſtripping you of every degree of political conſequence, gives you as many tyrants as there are members of the privileged caſt.

"This is the hydra of great and petty tyrants, that claims your loyalty to its foul uſurpations, and deprives you of all ſort of influence that might ſecure you from oppreſſion, and make it the intereſt of men in, or aſpiring to, power, to treat you individually or collectively with reſpect. Men in a free conſtitution are ſecure from oppreſſion, through the intereſt their fellow-citizens are likely to feel for their concerns, and this ſympathy muſt reſult from ſome common intereſt, as the community of rights; common rights producing a common diſpoſition to ſupport thoſe rights, or favour conferable by the exerciſe of ſuch rights as voting, pleading, &c. Thus in a well-regulated ſyſtem, freedom, there is a chain of mutual dependence from top to bottom, that connects all the parts by the ties of mutual intereſt, and prevents

the leaſt from being treated with neglect, or oppreſſed by the greateſt. The King is obliged to court the Commons; thoſe, in their turn, are obliged to court the people. If any freeman of the latter deſcription is injured, he has the ſympathy of his own order, and the ambition and deſire of popularity prevalent among the higher to protect him. But the unfortunates, who ſuffer civil excommunication from the pale of theſe privileges, are ſubject to inſult and oppreſſion from all quarters; they are the helots, doomed to toil, torture, or death, at the pleaſure of their taſk-maſters. It is not merely by compariſon with the happier lot of their neighbour, that they muſt feel their ſlavery embittered; it is really aggravated by additional and very ſubſtantial hardſhips, over and above what are incident to the ſubjects of an abſolute monarchy. Under an abſolute and enlightened monarch, the ariſtocracy is not allowed to cruſh the laborious claſſes to ſuch a degree as would preclude them from the neceſſaries and comforts of life. Whatever advantage may fall to the lot of the induſtrious, is open alike to all.—But with you, every non-freeman feels himſelf preſſed by an ariſtocracy, or privileged caſt of his own trade and profeſſion; and from ſome profeſſions, or at leaſt their higher honours, he is entirely excluded.

"There is a gradation of ariſtocracies branching from the throne to the forty-ſhilling freeholder, ſqueezing him like the folds of the hydra, and cruſhing him to the earth. If maſters there muſt be, as Homer ſays, better have one than many:

Ουκ αγαθη πολυκοιρανιη, εις κοιρανος εστω.

With all theſe wrongs weighing them down, while you conceded a little, and left them room to hope for more in time, they ſupported you cheerfully; then you called for free trade and independence, and you got it. England reaped this advantage from your union, as ſome compenſation for their conceſſions, that ſhe was not obliged to protect you either by ſea or land; but, on the contrary, received conſiderable aid from Ireland, both in men and money. What, on the other hand, is the fruit of your preſent ſyſtem, as impolitic as it is inhuman? Your weakneſs compels you to lean on England for ſupport, and thus you contribute to paralyze her efforts, engaged as ſhe is in a moſt arduous ſtruggle. Your haughty and inſulting denunciation of eternal oppoſition to juſt claims provoked general diſcontent, conveyed in language opprobrious and unmannerly; your meaſures of coercive violence, and organized banditti of exterminators and plunderers, fanned the flame into a civil war.

"Can it appear wonderful, if men, thus goaded beyond the bounds of human bearing, ſhould retaliate and commit exceſſes?—They had not the nature or feelings of man if they did not. Under its preſent circumſtances, you cannot guarantee the tranquil-

lity of your injured country for a ſingle twelvemonth, nor your own exiſtence as a government, without powerful ſupport from hence. During ſome future, if not the preſent, French war, you are liable to be overthrown, and by your overthrow to bring great calamity on us all. Your ſyſtem is burdenſome for the preſent, replete with miſchief and diſgrace, and pregnant with the ſeeds of future deſtruction. Two other modes remain to be tried, a reform or an union.

" Since my entrance into office, I had always ſtrong objections to reform, becauſe I began to view things in a new light; but more than ever ſince the French revolution. I now think that a reform would only give the republicans a purchaſe, that would enable them to overthrow the conſtitution. So much for reform in general. As to a reform in Ireland, it would be attended with the further inconvenience of leading to the ſeparation of the two countries. Perhaps, alarming as ſuch an event might ſeem to ſome people, it would be better for England than your preſent condition. Some politicians are wont to frighten themſelves with the conſequences of Iriſh independence; they dread much from the commercial rivalry of that favoured country, poſſeſſing the full command of its natural reſources; and having expatiated on the fertility of her ſoil, the goodneſs of her climate, her numerous bays, harbours, and rivers, her mines, population, cheapneſs of labour and proviſions, they aſk, How could England ſupport the competition? Theſe are the idle fears of ſhallow or intereſted men. Her wealth and luxury would put an end to relative cheapneſs, and make her the better market for our commodities.

" Our rivals the French are, in time of peace, our beſt cuſtomers, preciſely becauſe they are, after Britain, the wealthieſt nation in Europe. Even a connexion of reciprocal intereſt would cement the ſiſter iſlands, in a manner more beneficial to both than the preſent. Ireland would then feel herſelf intereſted to preſerve England from being overrun by the arms of France, on the principles of ſelf-preſervation; and the efforts of a people become wealthy and powerful, and acting on a conviction of juſtice and neceſſity, would be more formidable. The union of nations, connected by the ſtrong ties of mutual intereſt, has proved laſting and beneficial to both parties.

" But let us, for the preſent, diſmiſs theſe views of the ſubject, and conſider the only remaining alternative, viz. an incorporation with Great Britain, and weigh the probable conſequences. At a moment when the great ſtates of Europe are already overgrown in power and territory, it is not for Great Britain to ſit down ſupinely, and ſuffer the diſmemberment of her empire; it is rather her policy to incorporate more intimately the circumjacent, and, as it were, the domeſtic members thereof, by drawing cloſer the ties that unite them: this will enable her to protect diſtant ſettle-

ments, and invigorate public credit, by giving additional ſecurities to the public creditor. It will occaſion an influx of wealth into England by the concourſe of rich proprietors, who will reſort hither in crowds from your ſide the water, as the great mart of ambition, elegance, buſineſs, and pleaſure. Finally, it will form an additional barrier againſt the dangerous ſpirit of innovation, by throwing an hundred additional members into both houſes, entirely devoted to the miniſter of the day, which will enable me to apply the redundancy of influence not wanted for the ſervice of the current year, to the formation of a ſinking fund of patronage, towards purchaſing the remaining Jacobinical parts of the conſtitution. Ireland, ſubject to military government, will become a convenient barrack to awe the ſpirit of Jacobiniſm in this country, in caſe it attempts any thing; for theſe reaſons, both government and people will cheerfully accept the Union.

"As for the conſequences likely to reſult to Ireland from the meaſure, that you muſt acknowledge is matter of very ſecondary conſideration, ſince that conquered country ought, in all reaſon, exiſt ſolely for our benefit. Let her enjoy her religious quarrels, the ſanguinary rage of her factions. What more would ſhe have? Does ſhe not poſſeſs Orange-men, and defenders, and rebels, and loyaliſts, proteſtants, papiſts, preſbyterians, ſwadlers, &c. &c.? Are not all theſe indulged in the comfortable ſatisfaction of cutting each other's throats for the love of God, and the Virgin Mary, and her ſiſter Biddy, or for church or king, as they like beſt? How unreaſonable to grumble after ſuch conceſſions! With her hands full of ſuch ſalutary works, your people can never feel the want of employment. The ſuperabundant hands that may be ſpared from the martial and honourable ſport of murder, man-hunting, and raviſhing, may tend the flocks that fatten for the Engliſh market. We ſhall have no objection to fill the ranks of our fleets and armies with them. I do not prohibit our manufacturers and capitaliſts from ſettling among you, if they chooſe to truſt their lives and fortunes among the wild Iriſh. Your farmers ſhall have to deal only with agents, ſtewards, and middlemen, inſtead of the proprietors, which muſt redound very much to their ſatisfaction, as they have long experienced the lenity of the former deſcription of maſters."

Here ended the conſoling logic of Thaumaturgus. To which John Paddy, ſpeaker, replied in the following manner:

"And is it thus you reward your faithful ſervants, the loyal aſcendancy or Orangemen? Is it for this we riſqued our lives and fortunes, and in fact ſhed our blood and ſquandered our properties? For you, ungrateful England, we have oppreſſed our country, deluged it with the blood of its inhabitants, overrun it with fire and ſword for your intereſt; and, to gratify your hereditary hatred to the Iriſh name and nation, we have rekindled the decay-

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ing ſpirit of bigotry. Wherefore have we armed neighbour againſt neighbour, friend againſt friend, relative againſt relative, with rage unparalleled, and put arms in their hands to aſſaſſinate, burn, &c. every plebeian uninitiated; to raviſh their wives and daughters, burn their houſes, &c.? Wherefore have we ranſacked the Engliſh language for epithets of reproach and contumely, to rouſe an irritable people to exceſſes? and when they did not anſwer the wiſhed-for purpoſe, did we not reſort to acts of legiſlative deſpotiſm, which proving inadequate, we adopted the deciſive meaſure, by ordering military execution on the people? Oh ungrateful John Bull! have we not always acted as your faithful garriſon, retaining Ireland in your chains for your profit, enabling you to deprive it of trade, manufactures, and national government; to turn it into a draw-farm for the ſupply of your navy and your markets; to drain it of men and money at your good pleaſure? Have we not faithfully and aſſiduouſly co-operated with you in deviſing ſuch laws as might reduce them to a ſtate of poverty, barbarity, and ignorance, by depriving them of the means of induſtry, and rendering its acquiſition inſecure, by cloſing againſt them the avenues of education, of preferment, and wealth? Could you contrive more effectually to accompliſh this, than by the ſuppreſſion of printing and inſtruction in the national language? well knowing, that before a whole people can maſter a ſtrange idiom, and renounce their vernacular tongue, many generations muſt paſs away, during which interval, the want of books and inſtruction muſt reduce them to complete ignorance. For the ſame laudable end we ſuppreſſed their colleges, and made it penal for them to ſtudy abroad. Further, leſt by any clandeſtine means they ſhould labour to reach the prohibited fruit of knowledge, we ſtrengthened our fore-mentioned proviſions with incapacitating ſtatutes, diſqualifying for the exerciſe of the profeſſions in which learning and ability are diſplayed to advantage; thus cutting off every motive that can ſtimulate induſtry, or conduct men to eminence in the career of literature and ſcience.

"Do we deſerve no credit for thoſe ingenious methods of barbarizing mankind, unparalleled in the annals of the world? All this we have achieved for your ſake, that you might the more eaſily retain them in bondage, fleece and oppreſs them with impunity; for you know that knowledge is power, and ignorance is impotence. If Ireland be this day your footſtool (to uſe a ſcripture phraſe), your piſſpot, or whatever elſe you chooſe to make it; if you may ſafely treat its inhabitants as the vileſt of ſlaves, whip them like dogs, ſhoot, or hang, or baſtile, or condemn them to the gallies, agreeably to your good pleaſure, to our labours you ſtand indebted for this eminent gratification!

"Oh! were that deſpiſed people enlightened and united, nor you, nor any power on earth, could tread them down on their native ſoil with impunity. Without us, and our forefathers of

glorious

glorious memory, their commerce would vie with your own. I appeal to your own writers on commerce for the truth of this aſſertion. Her fleets and armies would make her formidable; witneſs her natural advantages of every kind. She would now, as formerly, be foremoſt in ſcience. Arduous indeed was the taſk of extirpating literature entirely from among them, for the very loweſt and pooreſt of the wretches have a ſtrange hankering after learning, not to be found among the ſame deſcription any where elſe; and, what is ſcarce leſs alarming, they have a ſingular capacity too for ſcientific purſuit. To pick up a little learning, there is no hardſhip to which they will not ſubmit—nakedneſs, hunger, and toil.

"Is Ireland this day a prey to bigot fury, ſanguinary politics, and religious faction? It is aſcendancy challenges the merit of lighting up the torch of diſcord. After having prepared the elements of confuſion and civil ſtrife, by an elaborate well-connected ſyſtem of perſecuting ſtatutes and oppreſſion, religious bigotry, the ſure and ready inſtrument of civil diſunion, would, ere now, have been extinguiſhed, but for the foſtering care of intolerance, which plied it conſtantly with its proper food, ignorance and hatred. Perſecution ſours the mind, provokes reſentment and violent averſion to the opinions and perſons of the perſecutors, and diſqualifies it for diſpaſſionate inquiry. Opinions pretended to be enforced in that unwarrantable manner, have no chance of a fair hearing or impartial examination, while ignorance renders the inveſtigation nearly impoſſible; the ſufferers are prompted naturally enough to reject the inſtruction that comes accompanied with malice and oppreſſion, becauſe the intereſt of truth and virtue cannot inſpire the injuſtice which they condemn.

"Thus placed in the hoſtile relation of tyrant and ſlave, of perſecutor and perſecuted, one ſide claiming a monopoly of the good things of this world in favour of their ſtate religion; the other arrogating to themſelves the excluſive enjoyment of the kingdom come, as the reward of their preſent miſery: a coalition durable as ſincere between parties thus inflamed againſt one another, by the conflict of intolerance, and the conflict of intereſts, is not to be apprehended. For theſe and nameleſs other ſervices, you now propoſe to requite us, by robbing us of our expected rewards, juſt as we were proceeding to entail on ourſelves and poſterity the offices, honours, and emoluments of church and ſtate, to the excluſion of ſuch even of the favoured ſect as had oppoſed our meaſures, at any time, through the monopoly of parliamentary repreſentation. What becomes of your honour and plighted faith, never to forſake us while we ſupported you? Alas! the Punic faith is revived once more! What! take from us that conſtitution, provided by the wiſdom of our anceſtors, for the accommodation of you and us, at the expenſe of the wild Iriſh! Ah! if

you

you feel no concern for the diſmay and deſpair that would attend the diſappointment of ſo many mercenaries, claiming the rewards juſtly due to their exertions againſt their country, in behalf of your ſupremacy, in hopes of finding their private account therein; at leaſt ponder on the miſchiefs that may reſult to yourſelf and to Britain, from ſo raſh and ungrateful a proceeding. Your ſtaunch and zealous blood-hounds may be driven by reſentment into an alliance with patriot rebels; for, let me tell you, Sir, oh ſure I need not inform you, that the men of our phalanx, however they may degrade themſelves by cruelty and treachery, they will not paſſively bear to be deſpoiled of the wages of proſtitution and barbarity. Great crimes are ſeldom committed without great proſpects of advantage. Men do not ſubmit to laſting infamy for nothing. Traitors to their country, informers, ſpies, butchers of their fellow-citizens, raviſhers of female honour, &c. ſtifle remorſe, which the feelings of nature awaken even in them, by the powerful allurements of pleaſure and gain. Miniſter to their paſſions and their vices, they will worſhip you in return; there is no crime ſo abominable they will not deliberately plunge into; command them to ſcalp or devour the corpſes of thoſe they murdered, to erect pyramids of ſkulls, &c. you ſhall be ſurpriſed at the alacrity of their obedience, provided the reward lag not behind. There have been inſtances of their biting the palpitating hearts of the ſlain, and exclaiming, while they devoured the cannibal repaſt, *No food ſo ſweet as the heart of a rebel.*

"But ſhould they be cheated of their hire, none ſo untractable or vindictive; ſpite would make them patriots; Ireland would become free, and, alas! ſoon rival the proſperity of opulent Carthage. You would never again find in that country any party ſo entirely adapted for inſtruments of your cruſhing and dividing policy: accuſtomed to tamper with conſcience, which they ſacrifice at the ſhrine of ambition and lucre, they are proof againſt its admonitions. They have learned, in the corrupting traffic of boroughs, corporations, parliament, and law, to leave the pedantic rules of morality, to guide low grovelling mortals unverſed in ſtate affairs.

"There are, indeed, others of more rigid principles, good proteſtants, ſtaunch loyaliſts, ripe enough for any miſchief, for the *love of God*, and the good of their ſouls. Theſe may be retained at a trifling expenſe. But for the others, the deſigning and ſelfiſh partiſans, who are not to be ſtimulated by empty ſounds, but calculate the profits of their crimes"—(Here a gentleman preſent at the debate interpoſed)—"Come, come, Mr. Iriſhman, no independence, no republics; king, king, for ever; king is needful thing; king is God's vicar, Lord's anointed; anointed, do you ſee; biſhop pour oil upon his head; Iriſh wicked; very wicked; what! what! have no king! compoſe, imagine king's death!

death! force and arms! fooliſh Iriſh! Iriſh without king! no biſhop! no ſoul goes to heaven! he, he! no graſs grow, no corn; he! no meat or drink! all loſt; every thing dear; he! Engliſh people very good; fine, fine people; keep the kings upon the thrones; pay the great taxes; every guinea to the laſt, for the king, that make them all live; muſt hang the Iriſh! hang 'em up! he, he! Engliſh fight for king; pay for king; pray for king; ſing God ſave king; love king in their hearts; worſhip king. Americans good boys again; fight for king. What! what! loſe Ireland! no, no, muſt not loſe Ireland; there we have fine fat cows, great big cows; and clever bulls, Iriſh bulls; he, he! What ſay you, Pitt?"

Hereupon the vizier addreſſing himſelf to the aſcendancy chief, "You, and your friends, and whoever elſe cannot ſafely be treated with neglect, ſhall be provided for; as for the rabble of your party, we may ſafely leave them to the management of their clergy, who will work them up to our purpoſes, by plying their anti-popiſh zeal with cauſtic doſes of controverſial invective." The bargain ſtruck; the cabinet broke up; and poor Ireland is loſt for ever!

It is then the duped aſcendancy of bigots will have cauſe to lament their fatal miſtake, when they ſuffered themſelves to be hallooed like blood-hounds, to worry their fellow-citizens, and cruſh the patriot ſpirit, for the gratification and benefit of their deſigning leaders, who now diſpoſe of them like ſo many head of cattle. In the articles of compenſation for bartering away irrecoverably the rights and proſperity of the country, they are forgotten, and left to ſhare its ruin and poverty, ſince they would not its greatneſs and independence.

Orange-men, take a proſpective view of the bleſſings you have prepared for yourſelves and your children. The proprietary of the kingdom gone to reſide in England, to attend their buſineſs in parliament, the court, &c. All who aſpire to the career of ambition and honour, or the pleaſures of elegant and rational ſociety, or the amuſement of a great court and capital; emigration will become the tone; and it will be quite unfaſhionable, odious to reſide in Ireland; enough to give a fine-bred lady the vapours. The vulgar provincialiſm of Iriſh airs, accent, &c. &c. will be avoided like the plague; to eſcape the ſlighteſt taint, or even ſuſpicion of it, become an important concern; a permanent reſidence in London or Bath will be the indiſpenſable with every ſquire and ſquireſs who can afford it.

On the other hand, a beggared, deſerted province can have no inducements to retain the opulent; and ſuch as cannot afford the expenſe of that faſhionable country, will ſend their children thither for education, or rather ſend their wives thither to be delivered, that their offspring may avoid the diſgrace of being born here,

here, and educated quite free from any Iriſh impreſſions; untainted with the candour, affability, and hoſpitality that diſtinguiſhed that degenerate people; but trained up in the genteeleſt prejudices againſt every thing Iriſh, he will be early taught to treat the country of his fathers with injuſtice and contempt. Thus almoſt the whole rental of the kingdom will be ſpent in foreign parts, to enrich pampered England: trade and the arts, deprived of their cuſtomers, muſt follow; the capital will fall into ruin; agriculture will dwindle, &c. Population muſt waſte away, and reſign the ſoil to bullocks and ſheep. The vaſt ſums laid out in improving the capital, and its vicinity; in the conſtruction of canals, quays, bridges, roads; the melioration of harbours, rivers; in the encouragement of agriculture, arts, fiſheries; in the endowment of colleges, ſchools, hoſpitals, &c. is all loſt! expended in vain! all will become next to uſeleſs. The halls of the univerſity and the four courts will be ſilent; the budding gems of ſcience and genius will droop and die, and the future ſtate of Dublin may be compared to the ruin of Babylon, as predicted by Iſaiah: "And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, "the beauty of the Chaldee excellency, ſhall be as when God "overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah; it ſhall never be inhabited, "neither ſhall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; but "wild beaſts of the deſert ſhall lie there, and their houſes ſhall "be full of doleful creatures, and owls ſhall dwell there, and "ſatyrs ſhall dance there, and the wild beaſts of the iſland ſhall "cry in their deſolate houſes, and dragons in their pleaſant "palaces, &c."

An expectation will be raiſed, that Engliſh capital and manufactures will find their way hither, enticed by the cheapneſs of proviſion and labour.

Very improbable indeed. There are far more powerful inducements to retain them at the other ſide; the vicinity of the great emporium of the world; the fountain of credit, trade, &c. &c. the mutual dependance and ſubſerviency of all the arts and manufactures, each miniſtering to and borrowing from each, or neceſſary inſtruments, or uſeful hints, or ready circulation, &c. &c.

The manufacturer derives immenſe advantages from the cooperation of all the parts that form the complex and ſtupendous fabric of Engliſh trade, capital, and credit, which a man of known probity and ability may command almoſt to any amount; abundance of expert hands and ingenious heads, the utenſils, machinery, proceſſes, &c. employed in high perfection, expeditious, cheap, and every day receiving new improvements; the habit of induſtry, ſobriety, and punctuality, prevalent among the laborious deſcription; the general ſpirit of enterpriſe and commercial ſpeculation, that turns every thing to account; theſe advantages more than counterbalance the difference in the price of labour and

proviſions, and enable the London or Birmingham manufacturer to underſell the German or Ruſſian. Any branch exiled into Ireland would ſuffer more by its ſeparation from the living body, and vital circulation, and harmonious co-operation of all the co-members, the coefficient parts that conſtitute the integral frame of a flouriſhing commerce, than the trifling difference in the price of proviſion could poſſibly compenſate.

Great indeed muſt be the local temptations that could prevail on that calculating deſcription to renounce the vantage-ground of their poſition. What would provincialed Ireland have to offer? An impoveriſhed ragged population, with manners and habits not over-propitious to the commercial purſuits, obnoxious to the worſt prejudices of Engliſhmen; a country, however fertile, drained by the tributary rents of a hoſt of abſentees, and cruſhed by a full participation of Engliſh debts and taxes, increaſed with her increaſing inability to pay them; no home market; none of the co-operating trades, &c. &c. In the teeth of ſuch diſcouragements, will Engliſh manufacturers come to reſide among a people whom they have been taught to hate and deſpiſe from their infancy, and whom, when they are very liberal, they call *ſemibarbarous*; *deſtitute of induſtry*, *punctuality*, and even *honeſty*? *Credat qui velit, non ego.* You will, Iriſhmen, gain an inundation of taxes, and tax-gatherers. No more.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

IT appeared eligible to delay publication, in order to notice an anonymous production in favour of Union, which common fame aſcribes to the pen of a gentleman high in office. The matter and manner are ſuch as beſpeak the well-bred ſcholar; and the quarter from which it has iſſued, leaves no doubt of the project being far advanced, and authorizes us to conſider ſaid performance as the beſt defence the meaſure would admit, beſide the *ultima ratio regum*, or the logic of cannon law.

The reader will find moſt of the arguments that bear directly on the ſubject anticipated in the foregoing pages. Admirable to think, that odious deteſtable thing called *Union* is ſuddenly purified from all its unnatural foulneſs, by the regenerating breath of the Engliſh ſtateſmen. The union of Iriſhmen for Iriſh and national purpoſes, is loaded with every opprobrious epithet that language or imagination could ſuggeſt; but the Union of the ſame people with Britons, for the purpoſe of entailing everlaſting thraldom on their country to the lateſt poſterity, has, by that very circumſtance, received the expiatory *abſolvo te* of the cabinet, glittering in all the grace and gloſs of its new birth. It is the very panaceum for all our complaints. Spilſbury's drops contain not more virtues.

Happy Ireland! did you feel the honour and felicity reſerved for you, in the cloſe embraces of your friendly, humane, candid, liberal neighbour, John Bull! One bleſſing this writer enſures to you in his name, as the firſt fruit of your cloſer connexion; hear his own words: *There would be no danger of Ireland growing too powerful hereafter.* Granted. From the temptations of power and wealth we would be ſaved by the kind provident care of our new maſters. But then our *barbarous, poor*, unpoliſhed people would be refined, &c. by our intimacy with the elegant, agreeable, ſocial, highly poliſhed Engliſh!!! What ſtrange tales we are deſtined to hear! Learn good-breeding and politeneſs from the churliſh, growling, and ſelfiſh race of Engliſhmen!

If it be a characteriſtic of good manners to treat all neighbour-

ing nations with rude inſolence and foul-mouthed contumely, there we might learn; we have had abundant ſpecimens of thoſe humane and polite Engliſh tutors, the ancient and modern Britons, Mid-lothians, Dunbartons, &c. &c. Their leſſons will not be ſoon forgotten, for they have been written in our blood, by fire and ſword, and all the rage of luſt, and plunder, and military execution. May God preſerve us hereafter from ſuch teachers of civilization as Engliſhmen have invariably proved themſelves here! To civilize the *wild Iriſh* meant, in their language, to plunder and exterminate them. In the polite accompliſhments of boxing, ſwearing, gluttony, rudeneſs, unfeeling avarice, &c. they ſtand unrivalled. Take a ſpecimen of their elegant converſation and ſtyle:—*Nay, damn my eyes—God damn my eyes, face, and noſe—I'll be damned, if—God damn my bloody eyes*, &c. &c. &c.—Such are the flowers which cockneyfied Iriſhmen may borrow to adorn our iſle!

However, did England ſurpaſs the courtly complaiſance of Italy, or the gay urbanity of poliſhed France, that were no reaſon why we ſhould ſurrender our national independence. We may borrow improvements from our neighbours, without becoming their ſervants. How would England reliſh the propoſal of being made a province to France, on the frivolous pretext of the ſuperior politeneſs of the latter?

We are told of the advantage of ſending our children beyond the Channel for education. If that be any mighty privilege, we may enjoy it without that fatal meaſure; it would, in that caſe, grow to an alarming nuiſance, as ſtated in the foregoing pages.—Trinity College might certainly abide the competition, as far as it depended on ſolid and extenſive learning, &c. But the ſeat of power and legiſlation, the ſource of honours and preferments, the ſplendid theatre of ambition, eloquence, &c. faſhionable ſociety, amuſements, &c. would draw moſt of our opulent families thither, and fix the education of youth of diſtinction excluſively there. The hundred frivolities, to which the varying faſhion of the hour annexes the importance of firſt-rate accompliſhments, ſo indiſpenſable for a young man *du bel air*, would procure Engliſh education a decided preference; beſide the convenience of living near their relatives, of forming and cultivating early connexions with the Engliſh youth of diſtinction, of hearing the great models of parliamentary and legal eloquence, &c. &c.

Then, indeed, might Oxford and Cambridge ſtyle the Univerſity of Dublin *Our Silent Siſter*. Well, but we are to have Iriſhmen in the Britiſh cabinet, and of courſe the policy of the empire is to receive a direction favourable to this country. The author means Engliſhmen poſſeſſed of Iriſh eſtates. Such there are already, without procuring any material benefit for us. Fa-

milies, domeſticated and reſident in England from generation to generation, can be denominated Iriſhmen in no other ſenſe than the above. There is one grand conſolation ſtill behind—The Engliſh are exceeding wealthy. So great is the redundancy of capital in that happy land, that they are at a loſs for objects of ſpeculation, in the whole wide range of univerſal commerce and war.—Therefore, as they have more money than they know how to diſpoſe of, they will charitably employ part in draining our bogs and reclaiming our mountains. Good-natured ſouls! like the uſurer in Horace, they would ſcheme plans of rural improvement in December, and fly with their bags to 'Change-alley in January.

See the reaſons previouſly adduced, to prove that Engliſh capital would not flow ſo copiouſly upon us as ſome would perſuade. In fact, the commercial enterpriſe of England will ſpeculate on our raw materials, as heretofore; but they will have no additional inducements to form ſettlements or eſtabliſh manufactures among us. For the ſame reaſons they will be as ready to ſpeculate on the produce of France, Spain, or Turkey, &c. Commercial avarice knows no principle of preference but ſelf-intereſt.

To the arguments contained in the firſt part I would add, that a luxurious elegance prevails more and more in manufactures, calling forth the aid of ſcience and the fine arts; of chymiſtry, botany, painting, deſign, &c. A delicate attention to the naſcent variations in faſhion is neceſſary to their ſucceſs; on which account the vicinity of the court and capital is a weighty conſideration.

When Paddy got a free trade, it was confidently affirmed, that Engliſh capitals would be veſted in manufactures here. Theſe fond expectations proved deluſive, as no doubt, in the preſent inſtance, they will, if people are ſilly enough to reckon on them.—Is it likely that increaſe of taxes, of price of labour, &c. will add to the inducements of eſtabliſhing? Here we touch on the grand benefit we may certainly expect to reap from the projected Union: a bountiful dividend of the *moderate* taxes and debt of England; our full proportion of no leſs a ſum than *five hundred millions!* which, for aught we can ſee, may increaſe to a thouſand millions before the concluſion of this neceſſary war, if public credit can laſt ſo long.

The ſupporter of Union tells us, how deſirable it would be for a young merchant to be admitted to a ſhare in the firm of a wealthy extenſive trader. It might be ſo, if the firm were unencumbered, and the terms fair and reciprocal. But if the great trader were encumbered with debts beyond his ability, and the terms were the complete ſubjection and dependence of his aſſociate, I for one cannot ſee the policy of joining his moderate, but comparatively unencum-

encumbered eſtate, to the ſplendid bankruptcy of his haughty neighbour, on the diſhonourable terms of vaſſalage and menial ſervitude to himſelf and heirs for ever. Were the proſpects of lucre leſs equivocal, ſtill I would not adviſe the ſurrender of our independence, our birthright, for a meſs of porridge; but to fling away both honour and intereſt at a ſtroke, would be ſomething worſe than the Iriſh blundering bulls we are accuſed of. Honour cannot be ſeparated from intereſt; it conſtitutes the outworks and rampart of every thing dear to the heart. In the language of Junius, "The feathers that adorn the royal bird ſupport him in his flight; ſtrip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth."—When once you have ſurrendered your palladium, with the citadel of your independent legiſlature, you are at the mercy of every Britiſh miniſter, fit objects for experimental eſſays in the articles of government, taxation, &c.

The terms of the connexion may be new-modelled, as it may ſuit the caprice or convenience of your maſters, without your conſent. It may be ſaid, we have a ſtrong pledge in the good faith of Engliſhmen. Let the violated treaty of Limerick ſtand the perpetual, but not ſolitary, record of their *good faith*; let the commercial reſtraints, and other uſurpations againſt the terms of our connexion, anſwer.

On ſurrendering our ſtaple, the woollen and other branches, they promiſed us a monopoly of the linen manufactures. How have they kept terms dictated by themſelves? By encouraging this branch both in England and Scotland; by purchaſing immenſe quantities of Ruſſian and German linens, &c. Nay, the very act of incorporating Ireland would amount to a breach of the public faith with Scotland, by deſtroying the proportional weight of its repreſentatives in the legiſlature. Let keen-eyed Scotland look to that point.

A further advantage we are promiſed from the Union—tranquillity and ſecurity of property. This ſeems plauſible enough. It is taken for granted, that the factions here will be quiet when they have nothing to ſcramble for; when every object of ambition and emulation is removed far away. This is aſſuming the prophetic tone. Who can tell us what the conſequence would be of public diſcontent repining at loſt independence? We have ſeen two rebellions in Scotland ſince the Union took place, which ſhould compenſate the loſs of independence with perpetual tranquillity.

Pr'ythee, is it from the rioters of Weſtminſter, or Lord Gordon's proteſtant mob, the Iriſh are to imbibe the meek ſpirit of ſubordination to the laws? Moſt aſſuredly, England has not taught the nations the leſſon of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance; the ſpirit of independence which ſhe formerly attempted to ſubdu

due in America, and now combats in France, is her own legitimate offspring. To their credit be it remembered, the Engliſh of yore would neither crouch to kings nor prieſts, regarding all ſuch public officers, by whatever name decorated, as public ſervants, reſponſible for their miniſtry, and liable to be caſhiered for miſconduct, as they frequently were. So much for the ſpirit of meek obedience we are, it ſeems, to learn from a cloſer connexion with that mettleſome people. Here follows what the writer thinks a dexterous argument. In conſequence of the Union, Ireland muſt riſe to the level of Engliſh opulence, or England muſt ſink to the level of Iriſh poverty; *ergo*, Ireland muſt become as rich as England. I deny the conſequence. The diſproportion between the two countries may happen to be increaſed, not diminiſhed, by the meaſure. Wales has not riſen to the level of England, nor Jamaica, nor Barbadoes, nor the Iſle of Man; and Old Sarum is a good deal behind London, notwithſtanding the ſtatiſtic levelling power of legiſlative unity.

Having exhauſted his rhetoric on topics applicable to us as a nation, the writer deſcends to thoſe minor intereſts that divide our factions, religious or political. On theſe particulars he dwells with the fervour and complacency natural to a man eager to carry his point; and, conſcious of the ſtrong ground on which he ſtands, he addreſſes party feelings with a conſiderable degree of dexterity, well knowing, that on their operation he muſt ultimately rely for the ſucceſs of his ſcheme.

Sorry am I to confeſs, that on this ground he is a formidable opponent, not from the intrinſic evidence or force of his reaſoning, but from the infatuation and unhappy temper of the times; diſclaiming the inhuman motive of reviving and inflaming the recent animoſities of party, yet he contrives to touch on all the ſubjects of ſtrife that have divided and laid waſte this unhappy country. I felt humbled when I peruſed that crafty appeal to thoſe paſſions that diſgrace, and muſt, if not checked, extinguiſh us as a nation. The people are degraded indeed, to whom ſuch language and reaſoning are applied. With the view of inducing them to abdicate their independence, and part with the precious dear-bought privilege of legiſlating for and taxing themſelves, they are ſuppoſed the moſt infatuated bigots that ever diſgraced the earth, incapable of bearing with each other, mutually bent on each other's deſtruction, and therefore incompetent to the functions of legiſlation; indeed unworthy of enjoying the leaſt particle of freedom.

In the firſt part of this pamphlet, the cauſes that perpetuate the hoſtility of ſects have been, I truſt, elucidated to the ſatisfaction of any candid inquirer. It appeared that not difference of religion, but oppoſition to intereſt, immortalizes bigotry; that any general deſcription of men, ſelected as objects of civil disfranchiſement,

ment, penalties, and perſecution, and marked out as objects of hatred and ſcorn, whether on account of any peculiarity of tenets, religious or political, or any diſtinguiſhing features, whether of colour, ſtature, &c. would by that very circumſtance be embodied into an hoſtile caſt; and the re-action of bigotry, direct and reflected, would preſerve the ſeeds of hatred, until the cauſe be removed. Black men, and white men, and red men, will anſwer the purpoſes of the old tyrannic policy, *divide & impera*, as well as religion. England and France, almoſt every ſtate in Europe, have been at ſome period or another the theatres of religious factions; they have all in their turns been convulſed by the ſanguinary fury of contending bigotry. This truly evil and irreligious ſpirit has either vaniſhed, or been quelled in other countries; why may we not be permitted to hope for our own, the radical cauſe of all the miſchief? The aſcendancy of prieſts over the civil power has declined, and is declining; the extinction of both is retarded among us ſolely by the arts of Britain. Oh, ill-natured, ſelfiſh Britain! how long will you diſtract us by your baſe intrigues? How long will your unworthy policy arm ſect againſt ſect, friend againſt friend, neighbour againſt neighbour, in unnatural parricidal warfare? Will you never ceaſe bribing one party with a pittance of the common ſpoil, to hold in ſhameful ſubjugation and ruinous reſtraint the other and more numerous portion?

The abettor of Union aſks, Why may not Britain, if ſhe chooſes, adopt the catholic inſtead of the proteſtant, as the inſtrument of her ſupremacy over Ireland? A very fair queſtion. Pity he has not thought proper to ſolve it. It will not be advanced by any one in the leaſt converſant with Miniſtry, their opinions, or motives of conduct, that their religious prejudices determine the preference. No. They have aſſociated with popiſh prieſts, emigrant and non-emigrant, with the pope and Turk, and would as cordially with his Satanic majeſty, if he diſplayed *vigour* and *deciſion* in favour of the common cauſe. What then has entitled proteſtants to the diſgraceful partiality of Britiſh policy, and qualified them to be the undoers of the land of their birth? I anſwer, The ſingle circumſtance of their being the minority; were they the majority, they would feel as a nation for the honour and independence of their country; no paltry dividend of the ſpoils of an impoveriſhed and enſlaved country would prevail on them to ſacrifice their rights, and forego their far more ample, honourable, and ſafe portion of the natural wealth and proſperity, which the bounteous nature of the ſoil, and its happy ſituation, almoſt forces on them, in ſpite of the unwearied exertions of counteraction; they would not miſcalculate ſo egregiouſly, as not to know that the half of a pound is better than the whole of a ſhilling;

and

and that a ſhilling, honeſtly earned, is better than a pound obtained unjuſtly.

The artificial power of Government, ſupported by the power of numbers, would command reſpect, and make it unſafe to attempt upon their dignity or intereſt. This explains why numbers and power, property and no property, muſt be oppoſed to each other. The ſelfiſh, monopolizing nation is jealous of our natural advantages; ſhe dreads our riſing proſperity and greatneſs; the natural reſources ſhe cannot extinguiſh, ſhe labours to render uſeleſs to us; and that unworthy purpoſe ſhe can accompliſh only through our diviſions.

Alas, cruel England! take away your nonſenſical aſcendancy, your unjuſt monopolies, your vile machinations; leave us to the cool and ſober reflection of our judgments; then we ſhall have equal rights, equal laws, a common intereſt, and a common country. Thoſe diſtinctions that are preſerved, only becauſe they furniſh pretexts and objects of injuſtice, will gradually melt away, and be diſſolved by the breath of reaſon and philanthropy; then Chriſtianity will not be diſgraced by the horrid exceſſes of its votaries; exceſſes that argue more againſt it than a thouſand ſyllogiſms; no good tree bringeth forth bad fruit, &c. Why ſhould England dread the proſperity of Ireland? Would ſhe not benefit more from its wealth than from its poverty? Is not her commercial intercourſe productive in the ratio of the opulence of her cuſtomers? But ſhe would apprehend rivality, on colliſion of intereſt. Be juſt, and fear not. Who thinketh no evil, ſuſpecteth none. Rivality within the bounds of juſtice, is ſalutary to nations and individuals. Why dread hoſtile colliſion? Has not Ireland a ſimilar intereſt with Great Britain to preſerve the balance of power, and oppoſe the lawleſs aggrandizement of any given power? Her conduct might ſurely be truſted to the impulſes of intereſt, duty, and good ſenſe. Why not command the ſervices of Iriſhmen through their feelings, their gratitude, their ſenſe of propriety and honour? My countrymen, I truſt, are not deſtitute of theſe exalted feelings, nor diſqualified to liſten to their nobler ſuggeſtions. The line of true policy is before you; it lies in the ſtraight path of honeſty, not in the windings of ſtate treachery. Miniſters however are too cunning to purſue the ſafe path of integrity; they muſt diſplay vaſt ingenuity in governing by dexterous trick and ſubtle management; or indulge their deſpotic humours, by reſorting to the clumſy and miſchievous inſtrument of coercion. They love to govern by crooked means, and too much (let them not deceive themſelves) ſound policy can never be ſeparated from ſtrict honeſty.

By the eternal decree of ſovereign Righteouſneſs, iniquity never fails to defeat itſelf, and ſooner or later reaps in diſgrace and ruin

what it has ſown in malice and deceit. By the ſame adorable Power it is ordained, that the inſtruments and objects of crime become, in their turn, and in due ſeaſon, the inſtruments of puniſhment. He has read hiſtory to very little purpoſe, who has not ſeen theſe eternal truths diſplayed in the ſtory of the nations whoſe records have been tranſmitted to poſterity.

But to return to our Union. He has recourſe to the ſtate bugbears, about the inſecurity of proteſtant property, lay and clerical, ſhould the catholics ſucceed in their demands. His arguments amount to this: Nine-tenths of the property is in the hands of the proteſtants; the catholics are more numerous; therefore if the Houſe of Commons were thrown open to them, they would there have the majority, and——what and?—Will you gueſs, courteous reader? Why, they will proceed immediately to ſtrip themſelves of their own property; for the great majority of ſuch catholics as could pretend to the honour of a ſeat, derive from them very proteſtants, either by leaſe or purchaſe, their titles to their actual poſſeſſions. In favour of whom would they make this unprecedented ſacrifice? Where is the rightful heir? Fion Mac Cuil, or Goll Mac Morna O'Nial, or Mac Cuirnay? We ſhould inquire into the titles of the Mileſians themſelves; ancient as they were, the iſland was occupied before them. In all conſcience, we ſhould aſcend to the preadamites! It is ſhameful to obtrude ſuch exploded nonſenſe on the patience of the public. When the catholics formed the majority in as well as out of Parliament, they attempted no ſuch thing. When they had it very much in their power, and confiſcations were recent, enormous, and in many inſtances flagitious robberies, the rightful owners were in great part then living; yet no entreaties on their part, no, not the tears, and ruin, and deſpair of ſo many reſpectable families of their communion, deſtroyed by Strafford of infamous memory, could induce them to oppoſe the royal authority, though ſo proſtituted to their ruin; fearing from the republican temper of Britain, the conſtitution might be deſtroyed by their endeavours for redreſs; they periſhed in ſupport of the Britiſh conſtitution, as the Vendéans have done in our day, in ſupport of their king. Is it probable thoſe who did not avail themſelves of their ſuperior opulence, numbers, and majority in the legiſlature, to conteſt the recent titles to forfeited eſtates, that the ſame, I ſay, with nothing in their favour but numbers, ſhould revive chimerical nonentities, to the unhinging their own ſecurities? But ſtill farther, it is utterly impoſſible they can have a majority, nor even any thing approaching to an equal number in the legiſlature, unleſs it can be ſuppoſed, that one hundredth part of the national property can have more influence than the remaining ninety-nine.

It is aſſerted by men of undoubted weight, that univerſal ſuffrage would not free us from undue influence at elections. In theſe tranſactions men are guided by their temporal, not ſpiritual intereſts. Farmers would generally vote for their landlords, and artiſans for their employers, without minding their catechiſms. I know of no ſhopkeeper who would bate a farthing in the price of his goods, in conſideration of his cuſtomer's religion. The leſs party diſtinctions are noticed by law and policy, the leſs will men be influenced by them in their dealings with each other. It is notorious, that the republicans would conſider the conceſſions of the catholic emancipation and reform as the moſt complete defeat; rightly judging the preſent conſtitution would be ſtrengthened by the coalition of catholic and proteſtant intereſts. If they liſtened to republican doctrines, it was becauſe their demand of incorporation was ſcouted with diſdain, and the refuſal accompanied with a denunciation of eternal oppoſition to future conceſſions. This proceeding was not politic, becauſe neither wiſe nor honeſt. They ſhould have remembered, that in Pandora's box, hope was left at the bottom. Heated by the conteſt, and by the ſpirit of the times, deſpairing of their rights through the conſtitution, they hearkened to thoſe republican doctrines which have no very natural alliance with their eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions. It was not the ſociety in Back-lane, but the ſociety in College-green, that gave the rapid impulſe to the great majority of Iriſhmen towards democracy. The meaſures then rejected would ſtill prove ſalutary; it is never too late to act rightly. But ſhould it be given up as impracticable, I ſee no alternative but an Union. It is proved that danger to the proteſtant intereſt is chimerical,

1ſt. Becauſe the catholics had not the will, when they had the power, and the claimants were living, and the juſtice of the claims evident in numerous inſtances, and the aſſertion of thoſe claims popular and plauſible. They acquieſced in the transfer of property; and now, that all circumſtances are reverſed, and their power, even with a full participation of rights, but a fraction in the ſtate, who but an idiot would apprehend any danger from their emancipation, with a proteſtant King, and Lords, and a majority in the Commons, from the neceſſary influence of property, in the proportion of at leaſt ten to one, and the probability that a catholic ariſtocracy would make common cauſe with their proteſtant colleagues and compeers, in preference to democracy of their own perſuaſion? If any ſuch principle could ſurvive the reſtoration of the conſtitution, as I am certain it could not, I can ſee no danger in emancipation and reform, but much cauſe of apprehenſion, in leaving the people of Ireland diſcontented either with or without an Union.

As for the danger to the church eſtabliſhment, it cannot pro-

ceed from the catholics, as we have ſeen it is only by proteſtants that it can be overturned. A modification of tithes, which is now held forth as a rider to the Union, would, without ſuch a meaſure, ſatisfy the public on that head, and ſecure their livings to the clergy. The queſtion, in that caſe, would reſt entirely between the incumbent and the landlord; the intereſts of agriculture would not be affected; but let them look to the conſequences of an Union. What muſt diminiſh population, and the value of land, cannot add to the value of their livings.

As to the queſtion of eſtabliſhments, as neceſſary to the preſervation of religion, the hiſtory of religion is the beſt ſolution. Chriſtianity was propagated independent of ſecular rewards; it owes nothing to eſtabliſhments but abuſes that have corrupted it. The diſſenters and catholics have ſubſiſted without ſtate alliance; why not the church of England? It is conferring very little honour on that true religion, to ſuppoſe it cannot be preached or believed, unleſs ſupported by temporal power, and large bribes to teachers and believers. What a frail bantling muſt it be, not to endure the wholeſome climate of equal juſtice and impartial inquiry? No, it muſt be ſwathed in flannels; nurſed by the ſtate, kept very warm and comfortable in the ſoft lap of luxury; pampered with goodies: ſtill the ricketty creature keeps ſqualling, alarming the family, its life is always in danger. But it would be leaving religion to chance to deprive it of eſtabliſhment. How long will man be more cunning than his Maker? He that framed human nature, knew how to adapt his revelation to its wants and capacities; and truſted to its native beauty, ſimplicity, internal evidence, and powerful appeals to the beſt feelings of our nature, for its efficacy and undecaying virtue. Surely this was not throwing it abroad like a deſtitute orphan, deriving a precarious exiſtence from caſualty. A religion of human invention muſt depend upon human policy for its ſhort-lived exiſtence. Every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted ſhall be rooted out. The repeal of the teſt-act is maintained as another inconvenience attendant on reform. Where could be the mighty harm, if Parliament had nothing to do with voting creeds, forming teſt-acts, or inflicting penalties on nonconformiſts? Parliament owns its fallibility in ſpiritual concerns. Is it not inconſiſtent with that confeſſion, to aſſume dominion over men's conſciences, and puniſh them for not believing what may chance to be erroneous? In the ſcience of taxation they may claim precedence of the council of Trent, the pope's conclave, or the convocation; but the art of creed-making, or voting articles of faith, ſhould be relinquiſhed to thoſe whoſe peculiar profeſſion qualifies them for the office. One might be a good member of parliament, and an honeſt man, though he ſhould believe an article more or leſs than thirty-nine.

Laſtly, he addreſſes himſelf to the Iriſh legiſlature in terms which, from any other quarter, would be treated as ſeditious. He reproaches them rather in oblique terms with venality and corruption; with ſacrificing the intereſts of their conſtitution to thoſe of England; he ſays they were at leaſt liable to the imputation. That may be true; but is a reaſon for reform, not for abolition. How would the Britiſh legiſlature reliſh ſuch logic? Muſt it too be aboliſhed? Undue influence is imputed to it. This ſeems ſomewhat Jacobinical; it ſounds peculiarly hard and ungracious, as coming from the ſame quarter whence the ſeduction and bribe originated; it is imitating the tempter of mankind, who is ſaid to be the accuſer of ſuch as he allures into his toils. *The connexion has been tried in various ſhapes, and has invariably been found inadequate to the purpoſes of good government. Therefore we ſhould try the effect of an Union.* Fine logic! Our partnerſhip with Britain has hitherto proved diſaſtrous, therefore we ſhould reſign the entire management of our affairs into her hands. A different concluſion might be drawn by the ſame, viz. and therefore we ſhould break up the partnerſhip; for if we were cheated and robbed while we were co-managers, through the purchaſed negligence or treachery of our clerks, what chance remains of juſtice when the ſole and excluſive ſtewardſhip is veſted in our fraudulent partner, without any obligation of rendering an account? Another alternative remains, viz. to amend the terms of the connexion, and employ honeſt clerks, who will give good ſecurity, and render a faithful account of their dealings. A long ſtring of precedents is preſented to us at the outſet, of ſome nations who united, and others who ſeparated. That was their concern. They might do ſo, or let it alone, as beſt ſuited their fancy. In no inſtance alleged, were the parties uniting ſeparated by an eternal, and often dangerous barrier, as we are. What moſt ſurpriſes me in this collection of precedents, is to ſee French fraternization quoted as a fit precedent to juſtify the Union. From the uſual language of Miniſters, one ſhould be led to think, that French rapacity furniſhed topics for reproach, not models for the imitation of our principled ſtateſmen. Their quarrel now appears to be not with the deed, but the agent; yet the French themſelves have dealt more liberally with their allies; they left to the Dutch, Helvetic, and Ciſalpine republics, their ſeparate exiſtence, legiſlatures, and directories, &c. Legiſlators of Ireland, you are called upon to abdicate your ſtations, on the plea of diſhoneſty, or incapacity, or both. Will you plead guilty? Will you ſubmit? Shame upon you if you deſpair of refuting the charge by one honeſt effort; by removing the cauſes of complaint; by reforming the ſyſtem which ſubjects you to thoſe imputations. The fault lies there rather than in the individuals.

viduals. Remember that the honour and deareſt intereſts of your-ſelves and country are now in your hands; beware how you transfer the power over theſe mighty concerns to foreign hands; you cannot lawfully overturn that conſtitution, with the tempo-rary adminiſtration of which you are ſolely inveſted; you cannot vote away the franchiſe which has created you, nor decree that as a province you have received as an imperial independent king-dom, no more than the Engliſh Parliament can vote England an abſolute monarchy, or decree an union with France.

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